1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

Weapons.—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

Pottery.—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side. There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

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241 433 462 is not lacking; true domesticated animals are absent. Planting is important as a source of subsistence, but fishing and turtle hunting stand higher in masculine preference as well as being a basis of life. Not only are the men charged with fishing and hunting — less important owing to the scarcity of game — but activity in the gardens is also primarily the business of the men, since the women are satisfied to help as they please, which is undeniably rare among the Amazonian Indians.

433 462 Up to here we are in perfect agreement with the categories chosen by Murdock (Ro, Im, Oo, Dm; columns 1-4). However, in column 5 we find the /44/ first gap. The division of labor assigns gathering to the female sex, except for the harvesting of wild honey, which is considered more as hunting and belongs among the men's tasks. So the Carajá could, after all, be put in the category of "standard division of labor by sex" (thus Ia; column 5).

114 Real difficulties arise when we take into consideration what is properly called social organization. Categorial decisions 361 [221] are not so easy to make there. It is true that our Indians live in compact villages, especially during the rainy seasons. During the rest of the year the Carajá proper like to disperse on the beaches, forming smaller local units, which, nevertheless, are always lined up along the river, the houses of the men (if there are any in the encampments) remaining at the rear, as if the periphery of a circle had been opened and rolled back in a straight line, leaving the center — the houses of the men — at 361 the side of the line. Since the large villages of the rainy season, 62 which are all like this and bear a name, are in reality agamous [114] and without clans, but display a certain tendency toward endogamy, the category assigned by Murdock — compact village observing agamy — (Va; column 6), if it is not definitely wrong, is nevertheless to be taken cum grano salis (tendency toward Sd).

●59 As for the family structure, it is normally of the extended type, at least during the rainy season, but the extension is not

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59 so great, and there are, besides the linear families or nonnamed minimal lineages, some independent families (i.e., rather Ll, often Ss and In, instead of Ee; column 7), which agrees with the fact that, besides the customary matrilocal marriage, "neolocal" residence is found (Mn, instead of Mm; column 8) in the dry season on the one hand, and, on the other hand, as a possible 595 nucleus of a new extended family. Polygyny is neither frequent 583 nor favored, whereas it is true that material considerations are absent on the occasion of marriage (thus Mo or To rather than Lo; column 9).

611 We shall now take up the most confused aspect of Carajá [121] ethnography. The Handbook of South American Indians speaks 615 correctly of double descent. I have shown elsewhere that be- [114] cause of some inattention in the editing of the famous manual, an incorrect idea of the real nature of this coexistence of patrilineal and matrilineal groupings has arisen. It is a matter, not of moieties, but of three large, named, patrilineal groups, which are primarily the men's affair, in their ceremonial and political life, but nevertheless are concerned with women in the sense of an endogamous tendency. Thus it is not a matter of true parallel descent, and, on the other hand, it is by no [621] means a question of exogamy, and still less of moieties. At the most one may speak of nonexogamy or agamy as in the case of the villages, which are themselves matrilineal groupings on account of the matrilocal rule of the domestic group just men- 613 tioned. In a strict sense only the small extended family, 596 which can be described as a non-named, minimal, matrilineal 582 lineage, seems to be exogamous. Marriage is permitted with any cousin, parallel or cross, and the matrilateral preference reported by Lipkind (incidentally without any indication of whether it is a matter of parallel or cross cousins!) seems to be only the normative expression of matrilocal marriage, whereas the slight patrilateral preference ascertained by myself is equally in agreement with the rule of endogamy of the patrilineal groups. [601] In reality, since the relatives are usually "brother" and "sister" with regard to each other, being male and female cousin, as we